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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

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Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούτ. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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827 828 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour is not approved, but in terms of χούτ it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

59 612 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[1] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[113] [1] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 5, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

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593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common ● [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide

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286 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

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Fig. 42

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
(824) continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
(804) commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
(827) is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

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754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It [782] seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 789 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 108. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/277 cont./

754 789 827 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success of someone, or on oneself (80)

80. A practice known in antiquity:

[redacted]

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. [redacted] IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 755 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention 756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 788 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/296 cont./

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105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being [824] one again has recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

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796 795 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
796 795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
789 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which must be blessed--tsandiles, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hieron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead," is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandiles) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining
[792] to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[531] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[188] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the